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SUBJECT: THE PLA AND THE CURRENT CAMPAIGN

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SUMMARY: THE CONTROL WHICH WE HAVE NOTED IN THE PRESENT ANTI-RIGHTIST CAMPAIGN MAY IN PART BE ACCOUNTED FOR BY THE ATTITUDE OF THE PLA WHICH IN A RECENT PUBLIC TURNOUT EMPHASIZED MODERATION. PLA RESPECT FOR PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI AND HIS POLICIES IS STRENGTHENED BY RECENT REVELATION THAT A PLA LITERARY JOURNAL IN FEBRUARY GAVE THE CHOU FUNERAL FULL COVERAGE AT A TIME WHEN IT WAS IGNORED BY RED FLAG. END SUMMARY

1. GENERAL PLA NON-INVOLVEMENT IN THE ANTI-RIGHTIST CAMPAIGN SO FAR SEEMS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN KEEPING THE STRUGGLE WITHIN BOUNDS. IN PARTICULAR, THE COMMEMORATION OF THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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FEBRUARY 28 UPRISING ON TAIWAN MAY HAVE BEEN USED BY THE PLA TO DEMONSTRATE ITS SUPPORT FOR MODERATION AND A CON-

TROLLED PACE IN THE CURRENT CAMPAIGN. CHEN HSI-LIEN (ACTING MINISTER OF DEFENSE BUT NOT SO IDENTIFIED) HEADED THE PLA TURNOUT, FOLLOWED BY HSU HSIANG-CHIEN, REPRESENTING THE MILITARY COMMISSION, WITH THE RANKING DEPUTIES OF THE GENERAL STAFF AND THE GPD, AND THE DIRECTOR OF THE GENERAL LOGISTICS DEPARTMENT LISTED IMMEDIATELY BEHIND HSU. THE LATTER THREE WERE ALL PURGED DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND HSU WAS DEMOTED DURING THAT TIME. ALTHOUGH CHEN HSI-LIEN DID NOT PERSONALLY SUFFER DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, HE HAS HAD A LONG ASSOCIATION WITH TENG HSIAO-PING. THE SPEAKER AT THE EVENT, UNITED-FRONT MAN LIAO CHENG-CHIH, REPEATED ACTING PREMIER HUA KUO-FENG'S DESCRIPTION OF THE CAMPAIGN IN THE MILDEST OF TERMS, PRESUMABLY WITH PLA APPROVAL (HK 2342).

2. OUR ATTENTION HAS BEEN DRAWN TO A PLA LITERARY JOURNAL, PUBLISHED IN FEBRUARY, WHICH PAYS ITS RESPECTS TO DECEASED PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI AND HIGHLIGHTS VICE PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING'S EULOGY TO CHOU. A COMPARISON WITH THE FEBRUARY EDITION OF THE PARTY JOURNAL, RED FLAG--IN WHICH THERE WAS NO MENTION OF CHOU'S DEATH--UNDERScores THE POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PLA'S REMEMBRANCE OF CHOU. IN ADDITION, THE TABLE OF CONTENTS OF THE JOURNAL, ENTITLED "PLA LITERATURE AND ART," WAS PUBLISHED IN PEOPLE'S DAILY FEBRUARY 5, ONE DAY BEFORE THAT NEWSPAPER LAUNCHED ITS ATTACK AGAINST CAPITALIST ROADERS WITHIN THE PARTY.

3. THE LITERARY JOURNAL IS PRESUMABLY UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE PLA'S GENERAL POLITICAL DEPARTMENT (GPD), WHICH IS HEADED BY POLITBURO STANDING COMMITTEE MEMBER CHANG CHUN-CHIAO. USLO HAS ALREADY POINTED OUT THAT LAST NOVEMBER 1, THE GPD ISSUED A CIRCULAR ON LEARNING FROM TACHAI IN WHICH IT REFERRED TO CHAIRMAN MAO'S "THREE DIRECTIVES" AS THE "KEY LINK"--A MAJOR DEVIATION FROM MAO'S LINE IN TERMS OF THE PRESENT CAMPAIGN (REF A). TO THE EXTENT THAT THE PLA IS, IN FACT, ACTING AS A RESTRAINT ON THE CURRENT CAMPAIGN THIS WOULD RAISE QUESTIONS, EITHER OF CHANG'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE CHARGES BEING LEVELLED AGAINST THE ALLEGED REVISIONISTS IN THE PARTY OR ABOUT HIS INFLUENCE BOTH WITHIN THE GPD AND WITHIN THE HIGHER ECHELONS OF THE PLA.

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4. COMMENT: PLA REGARD FOR CHOU EN-LAI, WHOM MANY IN THE MILITARY VIEW AS THE TRUE FOUNDER OF THE PLA, IS HAIGH. TO THE EXTENT THAT THE CURRENT STRUGGLE IMPLIES A DENIGRATION OF CHOU AND HIS POLICIES WE WOULD EXPECT IT TO PRODUCE RESENTMENT AND RESISTANCE ON THE PART OF THE PLA ESTABLISHMENT. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN, HOWEVER, WHETHER TENG'S ATTACKERS CAN SUCCESSFULLY DEVISE A MEANS ACTIVELY TO INVOLVE THE PLA IN THE CURRENT CAMPAIGN. ANY SUCH INVOLVEMENT WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT INDICATOR OF AN INCREASING POLITICAL TURBULENCE IN CHINA.

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